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LETTER DATED 27 FEBRUARY 1997 FROM THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES A.I.
OF THE PERMANENT MISSION OF ZAIRE TO THE UNITED NATIONS
ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to transmit to you herewith the reply of the Government of the Republic of Zaire to the communiqué from the Government of Uganda, which was issued as a document of the Security Council (S/1997/97) on 31 January 1997.

For the purpose of edifying world public opinion and members of the Council regarding the aggression of which my country is the victim, the Government of the Republic of Zaire has enclosed photographs of several prisoners of war captured by the Zairian Armed Forces in the theatre of operations.

In order once again to roundly refute the lies with which the Ugandan communiqué is filled, the Government of Zaire has enclosed an exchange of correspondence between the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees regarding the situation of refugees in the State of Zaire.

I should be very grateful if you would have the text of this letter and its annexes, namely the reply of the Zairian Government, the photographs of the prisoners and the above-mentioned correspondence, circulated as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Lukabu Khabouji N'ZAJI
Chargé d'affaires a.i.
Minister Plenipotentiary
Deputy Permanent Representative

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Annex I

Reply of the Government of the Republic of Zaire to the communiqué dated 30 January 1997 from the Government of the Republic of Uganda

1. The communiqué of 30 January 1997 from the Ugandan Government, which was issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/1997/97 on 31 January 1997, is a web of crude lies and untruths.

2. Certain Member States of the United Nations, including permanent members of the Security Council, have acknowledged that Rwandan and Ugandan troops did indeed enter into Zairian territory, and they have even approached Rwanda and Uganda to get them to withdraw their troops from Zaire.

These facts were publicly acknowledged on 23 January 1997 and on 4 February 1997, by the spokesman for the State Department.

As soon as it was announced that the towns of Bendera and Kalemie, in Shaba, and Watsa, in the Haut-Zaire region, had been attacked, on 29 and 30 January 1997 by Rwandan and Ugandan troops, the Rwandan and Ugandan Governments were again approached and reminded that the United States Government had asked them to withdraw their troops from Zaire.

Finally, the statement made by the United States Secretary of State on 3 February 1997, concerning the direct involvement of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi as instigators of the invasion of Zaire, was widely reported in the international press.

Since Mrs. Scempala, Ambassador of Uganda to Washington, told The Uganda Reporter on 4 February 1997 that Uganda is in regular contact with the United States Government regarding the Zairian conflict, the Ugandan Government should be aware of the foregoing and should realize that the Government of the Republic of Zaire is not only one that knows about the presence of Ugandan troops in its territory, but that this is common knowledge.

According to foreign television, Mr. Kabila did not begin recruiting minors to form his army until the end of January 1997; if that is so, what army did he use to seize Goma, Bukavu, Uvira and other Zairian towns, if not the troops of his partners, namely, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi?

3. Few of the troops belonging to the forces of aggression speak French, Lingala, Tshiluba or Kikongo, the official languages of Zaire. Most speak a Swahili that is very common in east Africa and that is different from the one used in eastern Zaire. According to the people of eastern Zaire, these elements of the troops of aggression are not from Zaire.

4. The Zairian Armed Forces have captured the following soldiers of the armed forces of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi in the theatre of operations:

Rwandan prisoners of war (see enclosed photos)

First category: five soldiers captured in Luberizi

| No. | Last and first names | Grade |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Muyaga Victor | Corporal |
| 2. | Nteziriyayo Rugira | Private second class |
| 3. | Mutabazi Eric | Private second class |
| 4. | Robongoza Mwasangi | Private second class |
| 5. | Nteziriyayo Jean Claude | Private second class |

Second category: two Rwandan Patriotic Army commandos captured in Goma

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Rutahisire Alexandre | Sub-lieutenant |
| 2. | Rubahiza | Corporal |

Third category: two Rwandan Patriotic Army commandos captured in Rutshuru

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bodolo Tecytele | Sub-lieutenant |
| 2. | Amundala Kabengele | Sergeant |

Fourth category: Rwandan Patriotic Army soldier captured in Idjwi

1. Sabu Mana Emmanuel

Fifth category: nine individuals arrested in Goma on charges of sabotage and espionage

1. Ruibasira Runanira
2. Bivegete Biachu Damien
3. Nsanzi Fura Nzabambarirwa
4. Mbirizi Mukasa
5. Ngoga Mukira
6. Buisa Biabikara
7. Okenge Lulu
8. Kambale Paluku
9. Kambale Mkhele
10. Kalisa Alain Claude
11. Ruterana Pascal

Ugandan prisoners of war (photos attached)

Sixth category: soldiers

1. Masaba Mukwasi, captured in Komanda on 10 December 1996
2. Paul Kabagambe, captured in Komanda on 10 December 1996
3. Atenyi Tibaraguza, captured in Niania on 29 January 1997

South African prisoner of war (photo attached)

1. Kanku Mpinganayi, Joseph: Doctors without Borders (see attached denial from Doctors without Borders for whom he claimed to be working)

These individuals were presented to the national and international press and to the public in September 1996 and on Friday, 31 January 1997. The Zairian Government has the videotapes, the reports of the interrogations and their identities and can make them available to the Security Council.

5. During the debate which followed the lecture he gave at the Institute of Strategic Studies in Washington on Monday, 3 February 1997, the President of Uganda was unable to refute the claim by Diane Bare and Angela Vullo of the Schiller Institute that Uganda was executing a premeditated plan designed to destabilize Zaire and other neighbouring countries in order to control and exploit immense natural resources and vast tracts of land stretching from Shaba in southern Sudan through Maniema, South Kivu, North Kivu and Haut-Zaire.

6. According to an article published on 17 January 1997 in The Times of London, Sam Kiley, speaking of the hostilities against Zaire out of Uganda and Rwanda, had written back in December 1995 that:

> "The leaders of four African countries have launched a cross-border military purge of their enemies. The coordinated effort could undermine French influence in East and Central Africa and confirm fears in Paris of an 'anglophone conspiracy' in the region."

The article went on to state that:

> "President Museveni of Uganda, who arrived in London for a private conference last night, is at the center of the initiative, which is based on friendships between African guerillas-turned-politicians, forged in conflict and in student digs in the 1970s."

The other leaders are:

> "Paul Kagame, the Rwandan vice-president, minister of defense, and former military intelligence chief for Museveni; Eritrean President Isaias Afwerki; and Ethiopian President Menes Zenawi, who all 'brought down dictatorships ... in the 1980s and 1990s'. Now, 'with the ... approval of Britain, they are ... retaliating against the neighboring states which have been harboring rebel groups opposed to them - taking their cue from [the] frequent demand that Africans find solutions to Africa's problems. They are doing so by, in turn, assisting rebels against the governments of those countries. ... These four are driving events in the Great Lakes region and Sudan."*

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* Cf. "The war against the British Empire can be won", Executive Intelligence Review/Feature, 31 January 1997.

7. Despite the openness which Zaire has repeatedly demonstrated, Uganda has always excelled at deceit: Zairian nationals are regularly victims of police harassment at the border, despite the numerous bilateral meetings between leaders of the two countries to discuss security and the travel of their nationals.

Moreover, the Ugandan authorities have never kept their promises to Zaire. For example: in 1995, the President of the Republic of Uganda, at his own request met with the President of the Republic of Zaire, in Germany and offered to pay for the 500 tons of Zairian coffee which had been arbitrarily seized and diverted by officers of the Ugandan army in exchange for the release of a Ugandan aircraft and crew involved in the counterfeiting of Zairian currency. The aircraft in question and its crew had been grounded at Mbandaka after bringing in 14 tons of counterfeit banknotes manufactured in Argentina.

The agreement was concluded and the Ugandan aircraft and crew were released. However, to this day, the diverted Zairian coffee has not been paid for.

8. On 13 and 14 July 1994, the Republic of Zaire took in, in the regions of North Kivu and South Kivu, nearly 3 million Rwandan refugees fleeing the civil war, including 30,000 military personnel belonging to the former Rwandan Armed Forces. The Zairian Government contacted the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, requesting that measures be taken at the United Nations level to move the members of the former Rwandan Armed Forces away from the border so that their presence should not become cause for distrust in relations among States of the Great Lakes region.

A United Nations mission led by Ambassador Kahn, Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, visited Zaire to identify, together with Zairian experts, sites far from the border where the members of the former Rwandan Armed Forces could be transferred.

That joint Zaire/United Nations mission identified Kongolo, in Shaba, Lukandu, in Maniema, and Irebu, in the Equateur region as possible sites.

In light of the report that was prepared on the subject and the cost of the project, the Secretary-General of the United Nations refused to move these troops, claiming that he did not have the resources. He then proposed setting up an international police force to monitor and provide leadership in Kivu for the 30,000 former members of the Rwandan Armed Forces. The Secretary-General again wrote to the Zairian Prime Minister informing him that he was abandoning the plan since no country had offered to participate in setting up that international police force, the cost of which was in any event, beyond the means of the United Nations (see attached letter).

Accordingly, Mrs. Sadaka Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, was asked to negotiate with the Zairian Government regarding the deployment of a Zairian Camp Security Contingent made up of 1,500 elite troops from the Zairian Armed Forces, which would be made available to the United Nations. This was done pursuant to an aide-mémoire on cooperation dated 27 January 1995.

Furthermore, the Government wishes to draw attention to the following:

(a) The former members of the Rwandan Armed Forces were disarmed and the weaponry seized from them was handed over to the Rwandan Government on 13 February 1996, in the presence of the Ambassadors accredited to Kinshasa, including the Ambassador of the United States. Zaire therefore did not invite either the refugees or the former members of the Rwandan Armed Forces into its territory and it is wrong to claim that armed Rwandan soldiers and members of the Interahamwe have camped along the Zaire-Rwanda border and that they have not been disarmed. This shows bad faith on the part of the Ugandan leaders, who are perfectly well aware of everything that has happened.

(b) It is indeed the Rwandan Government which has exported to Zaire the traditional inter-ethnic rivalries between Tutsi and Hutu, and its policy of exterminating the Hutu, together with the RPF massacres and mass graves reported in the Garçonny report, the massacres at Kibeho, Kanama, Wawe and in the refugee camps, specifically Mugunga, in North Kivu, and Chimanga, in South Kivu.

However, there were no massacres of Tutsi, either in Masisi or in Rutshuru. It is the indigenous Zairian population, Hunde, Tembo, Nyanga and others, who have been forced to move, in their own country, because of confrontations between immigrant Hutu, whose numbers have swelled with the new influx of Hutu refugees, and immigrant Tutsi who have all withdrawn to Rwanda.

The so-called massacres in Masisi and Rutshuru, are a story made up by Rwanda to justify the so-called Zairian refugee camps in Rwanda which have served as a military training ground for attacks on Zaire.

In its letter reference No. PM/01/MWB/KL/MNT/0216/96 of 19 March 1996, the Zairian Government asked UNHCR to prepare a report in order to determine just how these Tutsi so-called refugees were Zairian; that request remains unanswered to this day.

(c) All informed observers and experts on the Great Lakes region know that Rwandans are accustomed to immigrating secretly and illegally into Zaire in the Kivu region. Elements of the Rwandan Patriotic Army have repeatedly attacked various targets in Zairian territory, killing innocent people, specifically:

In Panzi, I and II, in February 1995;

In Jomba in April 1995 (this was the Ugandan army);

In Birava in April 1995;

On Wawe Island in May 1995;

On Idjwi Island in June 1995;

In Bunagana in June 1996;

In Kiringye on 31 August 1996;

In Luvungi on 31 August 1996.

It is the Rwandan disinformation machine which has invented the myth of one-way cross-border armed incursions to attack Rwanda. It also invented the myth about the impending destabilization of Rwanda from Zaire, prompting the adoption, without justification of resolutions 1011 (1995), 1013 (1995) and 1053 (1996) by the Security Council, whereas in fact Rwanda was just trying to get a chance to arm itself so as to liquidate, on Zairian territory, the Hutu refugees whom it was refusing to allow back into the country.

Unfortunately, these Security Council resolutions gave the Tutsi in power and in the Rwandan army an opportunity to avenge the atrocities suffered at the hands of the Hutu, using Zairian territory. Thus the United Nations, in general, and the Security Council, in particular, were misled with all the consequences that this has in the field, in Kivu. The Tutsi mass graves of the RPF regime are no better nor any more acceptable or to be tolerated than the Hutu mass graves of the former Rwandan regime.

With regard to these Tutsi mass graves, the Government of the Republic of Zaire draws the attention of the international community in general, and the Security Council in particular, to the fact that Ugandan and Rwandan troops are engaging in a systematic massacre of Hutu refugees in Zairian territory. Recent discoveries include:

In Katale, two graves, one containing the bodies of 200 men killed by machine-gun, the other containing 300 bodies. Thousands of bodies wrapped up in fabric and burned have also been discovered in Katale;

In Walungu, a mass grave containing 500 people close to Cimanga, in Burale;

In Kashusha, in the Kabare area, a mass grave containing more than 600 bodies;

In Kahindo, a mass grave containing some 100 bodies.

In this connection, independent sources have made the following statements to the Belgian newspaper De Standaard:

"In recent weeks, the rebels have carried out serious massacres among the refugees and Zairian people in North Kivu.

"This is the Tutsi response to the genocide of 1994 and the international community is again letting this happen. A half-hour's walk from Katale camp, I saw, with my own eyes, several mass graves, said a man who had narrowly escaped being killed himself; in the first common grave there were more than 200 bodies; they had been machine-gunned; in a second grave, I found 300 bodies. On the lava plain behind Katale and Kahindo camps, inside Zaire, another man saw thousands of burned bodies and skeletons.

"According to the accounts given by several witnesses, the rebels at first presented themselves as liberators; then, very swiftly, they began separating the women and children from the men, forcing the latter to lie down on the ground and then killing them.

"In Kahindo, 3,000 people were massacred in one mop-up operation. Those who escaped gave this account: 'The rebels follow the line of the Kigali regime, which is that all Rwandans who have not returned to their country have committed genocide; hence all refugees are targets for the military, whereas the local population is left alone.'

"Paul Kagame came personally to lead the conquest of Bunia, according to one of his bodyguards. L. Kabila did not show up until afterwards; he is a puppet just like Bizimungu. It is Kagame who pulls the strings of both these puppets." Article entitled "The rebels engage in mass killings in Kivu" by Rick de Gednt, published in the newspaper De Standaard.

Furthermore, if the former members of the Rwandan Armed Forces were not disarmed by the Zairian Government, what can explain the fact that 30,000 troops were unable to take on 6,000-10,000 men at the border when the Rwandan Patriotic Army attacked their camps?

(d) No "Banyamulenge" have lived in Zaire for 200 years, for the simple reason that there has never - neither prior to August 1885 nor from 1885 to this day - existed on the soil of Zaire, formerly known as the Congo, a tribe called the Banyamulenge. The colonial archives bear this out.

Just because a Zairian lives in the United States of America, Germany or the United Kingdom, for example, for 10, 20, 30 or 50 years does not mean that he can be considered an American, German or British national, any more than it means that those countries will automatically confer their nationality upon him if he does not request it.

Nationality, in this context, is something that is requested on an individual basis, and such requests are in all countries followed by a background check. Why should things be any different in Zaire?

If the war that has been unjustly imposed on Zaire by the Rwandan and Ugandan armies was caused by the problem of the "Banyamulenge", whom the Ugandan Government maintains are Zairian, what can explain the fact that, after the attacks on Bukavu and Goma, people like Laurent Kabila and Ngandu Kisase, who are not Tutsi and do not come from North or South Kivu, were installed by Uganda and Rwanda as proconsuls on behalf of an alleged rebellion?

What has happened, then, to these so-called Banyamulenge who were fighting for their own nationality? And what relationship is there between their struggle to acquire the nationality they allegedly seek, according to the statement made by President Bizimungu on 10 October 1996, and the conquest of territory in the Shaba, Kivu and Haut-Zaire regions, the planting of the Rwandan flag in such North Kivu towns as Jomba, Bunagana, Ntamugenga and Rugari, and such South Kivu towns as Nyangezi and Uvira?

(e) When the Sovereign National Conference was held in 1991-1992, all the members of the Zairian opposition - Lumumbists, Tshombists, Mulele groups and so forth - came back to Zaire to join delegates from the country's active political parties in a rereading of Zairian history and a breaking with the old order; together they drafted a blueprint for a new society aimed at making Zaire a State ruled by democratic law.

They drew up a transitional institutional order to indicate the way to a democratic regime and, finally, helped develop the transitional Government's programme which included the holding of free and transparent general elections in 1997, such elections being viewed as a way of effecting a non-violent change of power.

These meetings were attended by leaders of all persuasions who, like Kabila, associated themselves with armed or radical forces opposed to the former regime; these included Antoine Gizenga, Thomas Kanza, Christophe Gbenye, Gaston Soumialot, Etienne Tshisekedi, General Nathanaël Bumb, Commander of former Katanga Gendarmes, Anicet Kashamura, Félix Mukulubundu and Gabriel Nima, collaborators of Pierre Mulele.

Mr. Laurent Kabila, who had in fact been invited to the Sovereign National Conference, preferred to remain in Uganda trafficking in gold, diamonds, elephants for defence and so forth until the Rwandans made him head of the attack force in Kivu.

It is wrong, then to maintain, first, that the Lumumbists and the Mulele groups are secessionists and, further, that the Lumumbists, the Tshombe group and the Mulele partisans agreed to take up arms jointly against their country in eastern Zaire, since they are all still involved in the current electoral process, in accordance with the resolutions of the Sovereign National Conference.

It is, however, conceivable that Uganda and Rwanda sought, by means of their attacks, to create instability in North and South Kivu, on the assumption that the Lumumbists and the Mulele groups were secessionists and that they would take the occasion to join with the Tshombists, also alleged secessionists, in carrying out the Balkanization of Zaire, something that had been attempted in the 1960s. This thinking on the part of Uganda places the recent talk in certain circles about the implosion, explosion and weakening of Zaire in a new light.

In any event, the Government of Zaire refuses to believe for an instant that the States members of the European Union and the United States of America, having supported the democratic process and respect for and promotion of human rights, could encourage the holding of elections in Zaire while simultaneously following the Ugandan Government's acceptance of violence as a means of obtaining political power in Zaire.

8. The rebels or those in opposition to the Ugandan Government are essentially Muslims operating inside Uganda who control one third of that country's territory.

9. Zaire is not harbouring any opponents of the Kampala regime for the simple reason that at this very moment a veritable war is pitting the Ugandan rebels against the Ugandan armed forces, not at Uganda's western border with Zaire but in northern Uganda.

It is in fact Uganda which is regularly making incursions into Zairian territory with a view to entering the Sudan and attacking the armed rebellion from behind. This has led to a number of skirmishes with the Zairian armed forces.

10. Uganda has said that the alleged Ugandan dissidents living in Zaire have taken advantage of "the rebellion" to violate Ugandan territory.

Why would they have waited for "the rebellion" to break out in Zaire to take action against Uganda, one third of whose territory is under their control? This statement is simply a pretext to justify an unprovoked attack on Zaire.

The truth of the matter is that neither before nor after "the rebellion" and the instability created by Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda did Ugandan dissidents make incursions into Uganda from Zaire.

Did not the Deputy Prime Minister of Uganda and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Eriya Kategaya, acknowledge at the Ouagadougou summit held on 6 February 1996 that his country had shelled the town of Kasindi in Zaire? Can he tell us what Ugandan dissidents are in Kasindi?

## CONCLUSION

The members of the United Nations Security Council should not let themselves be fooled by the statements of intent and petitions of principle contained in paragraphs 4-15 of the communiqué from the Ugandan Government. The Kampala regime is known for its deceit.

After swearing everywhere that Ugandan troops had not entered Zairian territory, several States ultimately came across evidence that irrefutably established their presence there. How reliable, then, can the Kampala regime be? How can a country which takes the initiative of attacking another country enjoy any credibility when it presents the other country with a peace plan to deal with the effects of the attack?

The statements of the French and Belgian Governments and the United States Department of State, taken together with the material evidence collected by Zaire, show that the Ugandan Government is persisting in this lie when it claims, in paragraph 7 of the aforementioned document, that it has no soldiers involved with the current problem in eastern Zaire.

The Ugandan Government is developing a policy in the Great Lakes region that is akin to State banditry and seriously threatens international peace and security in the region.

President Museveni came to power in Uganda by means of an armed insurrection from abroad. Once in power, he again used armed insurrection to destabilize the former regime in Kigali and to place his former chief of military security at the helm in Rwanda.

It is this very method that he is now using to destabilize the regimes in Burundi, the Sudan and Zaire in order to realize his dream of heading a new empire stretching from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean, passing through Kenya, Tanzania, the Sudan and Zaire.

He is mistaken, however, because Zaire will not give him an opportunity to do so.

Above and beyond all the observations made in this document in response to the Ugandan communiqué, one must wonder why Uganda, in the first part of its communiqué, speaks of Rwanda for Rwanda. The subject under discussion is Zaire's accusing the Ugandan Government of aggression and violation of its territorial integrity.

As its sole defence, Uganda states that the Zairian Government threatened to destabilize Rwanda, that Zaire allowed former members of the Rwandan armed forces and the Interahamwe to establish themselves along the border between the two countries with all the military equipment they had brought back from Rwanda, and that the frontal attacks and frequent armed incursions against Rwanda came from Zaire.

To any enlightened observer, this means that Uganda acknowledges the attack but seeks justification for it in the fact that Zaire threatened Rwanda with destabilization.

Is Rwanda a Ugandan protectorate? What right does Uganda have to talk about Rwanda? And what are the real reasons why Uganda sent its own troops into Zaire? What specifically has Zaire done to Uganda to make that country send several battalions of its armed forces into Zaire?

The Ugandan Government's denials do not stand up to scrutiny and seriously undermine its credibility.

The Government of Zaire calls upon the Security Council to:

1. Note that Uganda does not deny its attack against Zaire but seeks vainly to justify it;

2. Strongly condemn the unjustified and unprovoked attack on Zaire by Ugandan, Rwandan and Burundian forces;

3. Demand that Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi halt their aggression, withdraw their troops and unconditionally evacuate Zairian territory;

4. Take all necessary control measures to ensure the withdrawal of all foreign troops, including mercenaries, and, to this end, to deploy international

observers along their common borders following the withdrawal of the forces of aggression;

5. Disarm all other allied forces of aggression involved in combat, including the Tutsi militias;

6. Take all other measures to ensure the unconditional repatriation of Rwandan and Burundian refugees and to restore peace and security in the Great Lakes region;

7. See that reparation is made for the damages caused to Zaire by the massive and extended presence of Rwandan and Burundian refugees in Zairian territory and the aggression waged against Zaire;

8. Impose an embargo on the supplying of arms and other war matériel to the totalitarian and anti-democratic regimes in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi.

Done at Kinshasa on 16 February 1997

(Signed) Gérard KAMANDA wa KAMANDA
Deputy Prime Minister
Minister for Foreign Affairs

Annex II

Letter dated 17 January 1995 from the Secretary-General to the Prime Minister of Zaire

As you know, the United Nations has considered several options for strengthening security in the Rwandan refugee camps in Zaire and the United Republic of Tanzania with a view to creating favourable conditions for the voluntary repatriation of those refugees. In this connection, you will recall that, in my report to the Security Council of 18 November 1994 (S/1994/1308), I had suggested several alternatives, including the possible establishment of a peacekeeping operation.

I was happy to be able to discuss these questions with you during your visit to United Nations Headquarters last month, and I noted with satisfaction that your Government remained prepared to furnish the necessary personnel to deal with security problems in the camps located in Zaire, on the understanding that the international community should provide the assistance and logistical support required for that purpose.

To this end I instructed my Special Representative for Rwanda, Mr. Shaharyar Khan, to go to Kinshasa to discuss with your Government the logistical and other resources that would have to be obtained from Member States. Mr. Khan reported to me on the very useful meetings he held with you and other Zairian leaders. He informed me in particular that your Government was ready to work with the United Nations to improve security in the camps and create favourable conditions for the repatriation of refugees in safety and dignity. Naturally, I am aware that a climate favourable to such repatriation must also be created within Rwanda.

However, my consultations with Member States would seem to indicate that the international community is not in a position to supply the human and financial resources needed to implement the alternatives proposed. Under the circumstances, I believe that the best way for the United Nations to help improve security in the camps would be for the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to address this problem in the context of its refugee assistance and humanitarian protection programmes.

Accordingly, I have requested UNHCR to look into the matter with your Government. To this end, UNHCR plans to send a senior official to Zaire to consult with your Government regarding possible action to be taken, within the context of the Office's mandate, to enhance security in the camps. I hope that these meetings can be held in the next few days and that they will lead to the prompt implementation of specific measures.

(Signed) Boutros BOUTROS-GHALI

Annex III

Letter dated 19 March 1996 from the Deputy Prime Minister of Zaire to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

During your meetings on 28 February 1996 at Addis Ababa with Mr. Mutiri-wa-Bashara, head of the mission dispatched by the Prime Minister and coordinator of the Crisis Unit, you kindly reported to us on your meetings with the Secretary-General of the United Nations who, in seeking solutions to the refugee problem, suggested that the refugees might be integrated in their countries of asylum.

I should like to remind you that, during our earlier talks, I transmitted my Government's position on that subject to you.

The Government had in fact stated that the return of all Rwandan and Burundian refugees to their respective countries was the sole lasting solution to the refugee problem, and that their integration in Zaire was not an option.

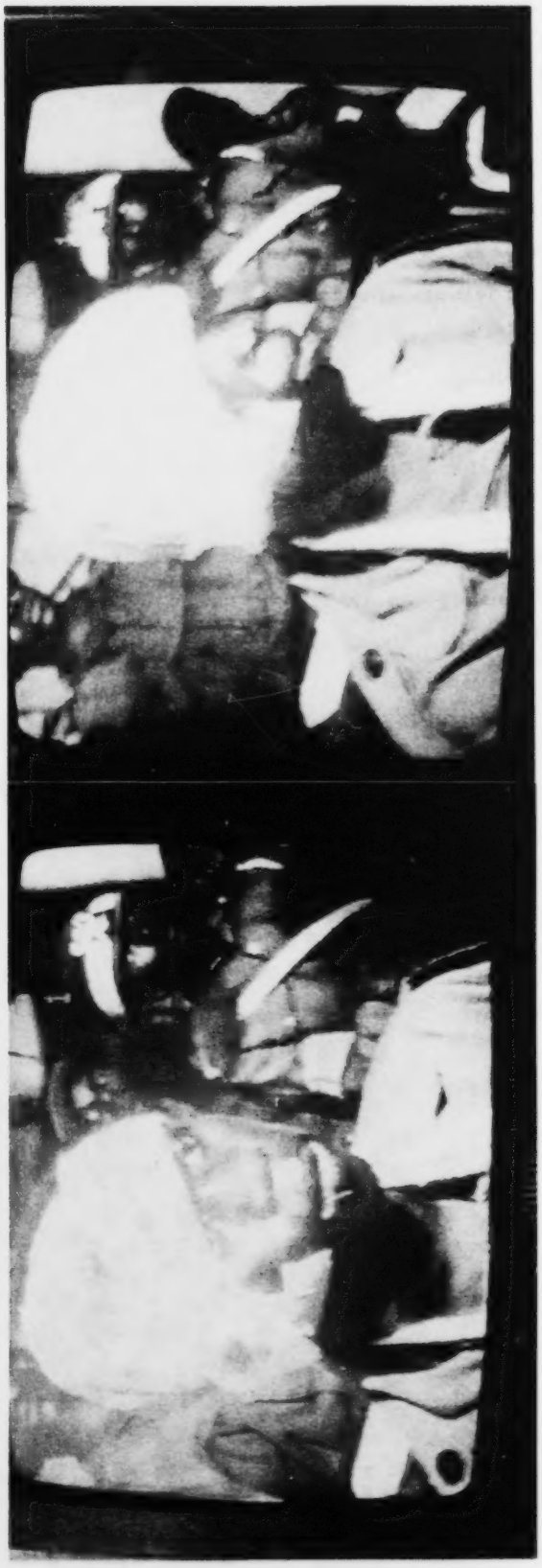
I am also surprised to learn of the presence in Rwandan territory of Zairian citizens who are applying to the Rwandan authorities and UNHCR for refugee status. To date, the regional authorities of North and South Kivu and other sources of information have not reported any massive departure of Zairians for Rwanda, and the displacement of persons from one State to another is closely monitored by the international community through the appropriate organizations.

If I may express an opinion in the matter, and bearing in mind the confusion prevailing in the Great Lakes region, I should like to request that your staff report to my Government the full identity, ethnic origin, place of residence in Zaire or any other information that will make it possible to identify these applicants for refugee status as Zairian nationals.

Zaire is particularly justified in taking precautions, given that the North Kivu region has lately been subject to infiltrations and destabilization by a network of bombers who have plunged the region into conflagration and bloodshed. Furthermore, the granting of Zairian refugee status in Rwanda to unidentified persons and the possibility of their repatriation are likely to exacerbate tensions which are already running high in eastern Zaire.

For the Prime Minister:

(Signed) Gérard KAMANDA wa KAMANDA
Deputy Prime Minister
Minister of the Interior



Ugandan soldier apprehended among attacking troops at Walikale

Name: Atenyi

Surname: Tibaraguza

Birthplace and date of birth: Hoima, 1 October 1964

Nationality: Ugandan

Region/Province: Western

District: Hoima

Zone: Bugahya

Date of induction: 11 June 1984

Unit: Northern Division

Rank: Sergeant

Captured during the fighting at: Niania, 29 January 1997

Father's name: Amoti Tibaraguza

Mother's name: Aboli Byamirembe

Name: Masaba

Surname: Mukwasi

Birthplace and date of birth: Mbale, 27 August 1966

Nationality: Ugandan

Region/Province: Eastern

District: Mbale

Zone: Masaba

Date of induction: 24 April 1982

Unit: Eastern Division

Rank: Second Lieutenant

Captured during the fighting at: Komanda, 10 December 1996

Father's name: John Mukwasi

Mother's name: Nabuya Nabwire

Name: Paul Kabagambe

Surname: Baizire

Birthplace and date of birth: Nyabushozi (Mbarara)

Nationality: Ugandan

Region/Province: Western

District: Mbarara

Zone: Nyabushozi

Date of induction: 1987

Unit: Kadogo Battalion

Rank: Sergeant Major

Captured during the fighting at: Komanda, 10 December 1996

Father's name: James Baizire

Mother's name: Janet Adyeri

Name: Pascal Ruterana

Birthplace and date of birth: Rutonde, 1967

Nationality: Rwandan

Region/Province: Kibungo

Date of induction: March 1993

Unit: Bigogwe Commando Battalion (Gisenyi)

Rank: First Sergeant

Captured during the fighting at: Osso, 21 January 1997

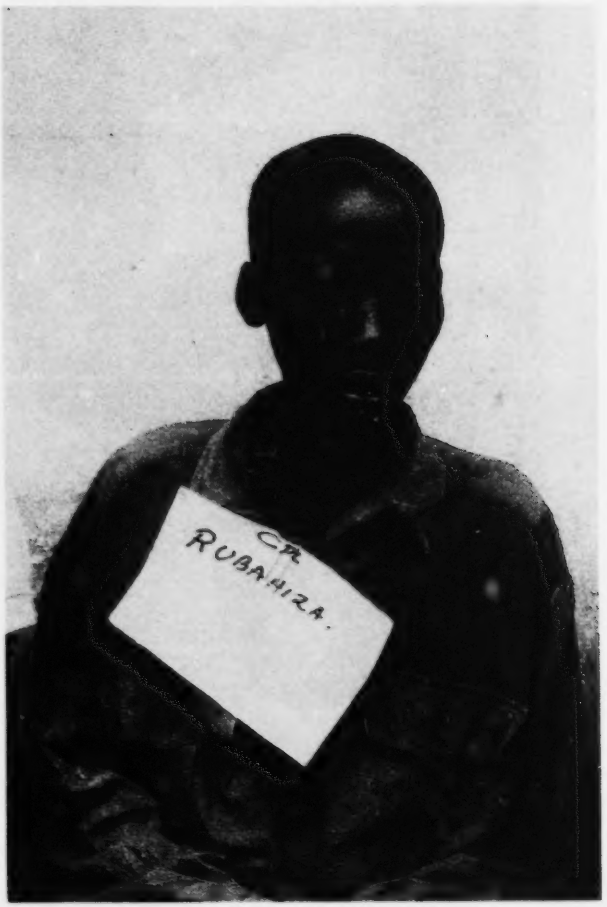
Father's name: Bizigimana

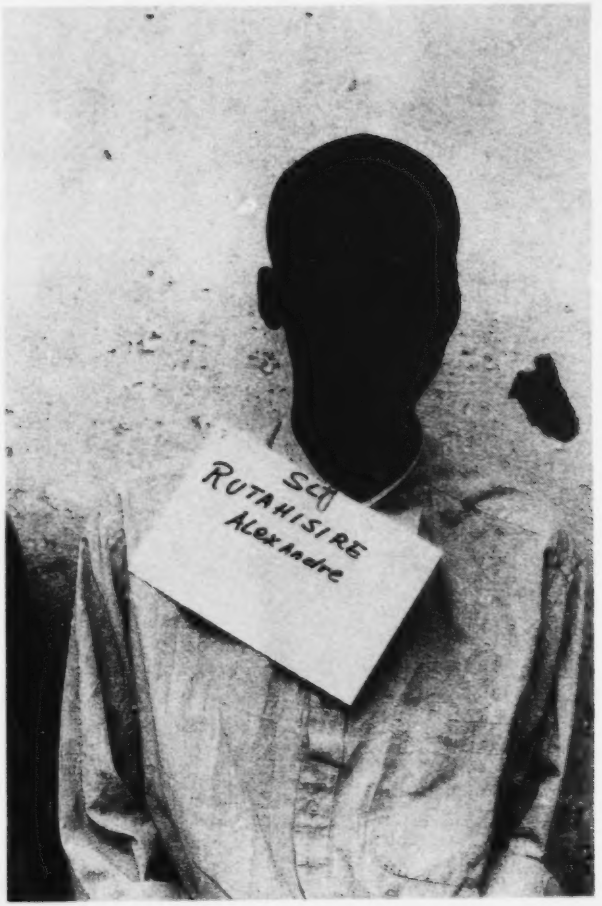
Mother's name: Ruyende

First category: five RPA soldiers captured at Luberizi

/...

**Second category: two RPA commandos captured at Goma**

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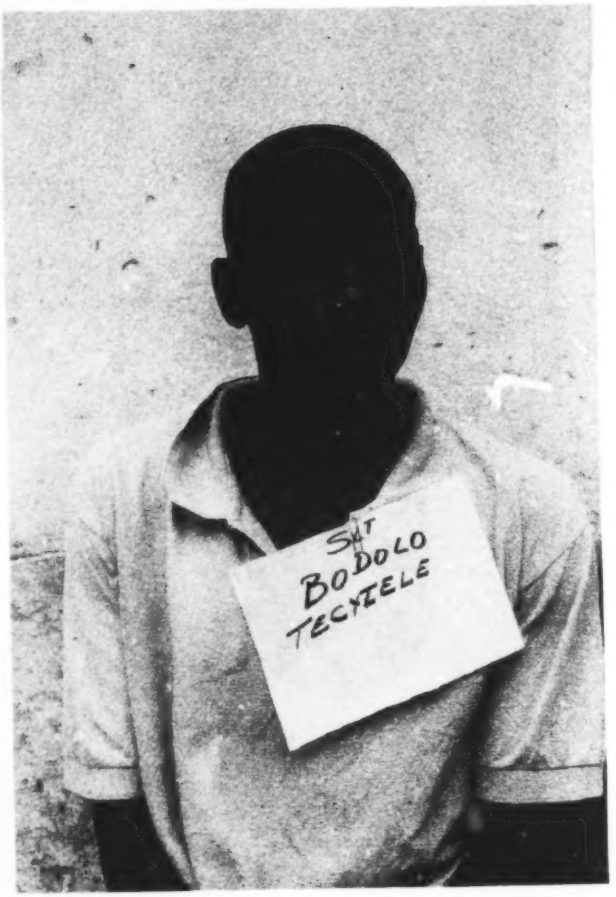
Third category: two Zairian RPA commandos captured at Rutshuru

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Fourth category: member of RPA captured at Ijwi

/...

Fifth category: member of the RPF network, infiltrated at Goma for espionage

Arrested at the same time were:

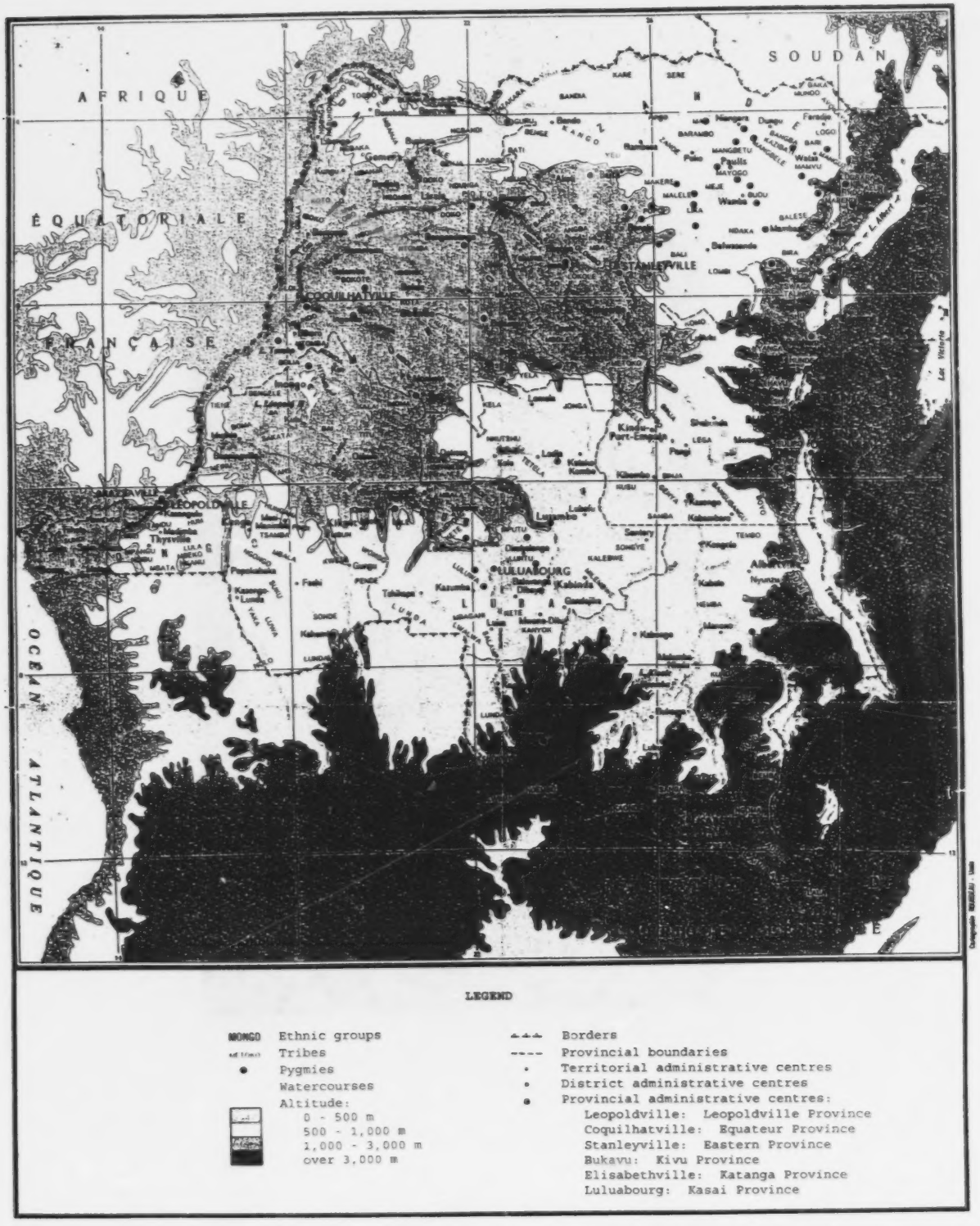
1. BIVEGETE BIACHU DAMIEN
2. NSANZI FURA NZABAMBARIRWA
3. MBIRIZI MUKASA
4. NGOGA MUKIRA
5. BUISA BIABIKARA
6. OKENGE LULU
7. KAMBALE PALUKU
8. KAMBALE MKHELE

/...

Dr. Kanku Mpinganayi, South African national of Zairian origin, member of the RPF network, apprehended in Upper Zaire

/...

Belgian Congo




Ethnographic map reproduced from the Encyclopédie du Congo Belge

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UNITED NATIONS

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General Assembly
Security Council

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S/1997/172
28 February 1997

ORIGINAL: ENGLISH

GENERAL ASSEMBLY
Fifty-first session
Agenda item 35
QUESTION OF PALESTINE

SECURITY COUNCIL
Fifty-second year

Identical letters dated 28 February 1997 from the Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People addressed to the Secretary-General and to the President of the Security Council

In my capacity as Acting Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, I wish to express the Committee's deep concern at Israel's decision to build a new Jewish settlement in the Jabal Abu Ghneim area, south of East Jerusalem. The Committee strongly deplores this decision, which is in contravention of international law, the Fourth Geneva Convention and numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The Committee reaffirms that, in accordance with Security Council resolution 465 (1980) of 1 March 1980 and other resolutions, all measures taken by Israel to change the physical character, demographic composition, institutional structure or status of the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, or any part thereof, have no legal validity and must be rescinded. The Council also called upon all States not to provide Israel with any assistance to be used specifically in connection with settlements in the occupied territories.

The Committee considers that the growing expansion and consolidation of settlements create facts on the ground inconsistent with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 and 338 (1973) of 22 October 1973, which the current peace process seeks to implement. They seriously undermine the agreements reached between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization and jeopardize the much-needed process of confidence-building between the parties.

Noting the similar concerns expressed by many Member States, the Committee wishes to join them in appealing to the Government of Israel to refrain from measures detrimental to the continuation of the peace process. It also appeals

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to all concerned to exert their influence on the Government of Israel not to carry out this ill-advised decision. In this spirit, the Committee fully supports the request made by the Group of Arab States for an immediate meeting of the Security Council in order to consider the situation in the occupied Palestinian territory.

I should be grateful if you would have the present letter circulated as a document of the fifty-first session of the General Assembly, under agenda item 35, and of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ravan FARHÂDI
Acting Chairman
Committee on the Exercise of the
Inalienable Rights of the
Palestinian People

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